

THE

# LORDS PROTEST,

November 18, 1740.

To which is added,

CONSIDERATIONS upon the Embargo laid on Provision of Victual.

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### THE

# LORDS PROTEST.

# Die Martis 18 Nov. 1740.



HE Lord Chancellor reported his Majesty's Speech, and the same being afterwards read by the Clerk,

IT was moved to resolve, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, returning him the Thanks of this House for

To congratulate his Majesty on his safe Return to his Regal Dominions; To assure his Majesty, that we will stand by him with our Lives and Fortunes, in the Prosecution of the just and necessary War in which he is engaged.

AND as a further Proof of our Duty and Affection to his Majesty's Sacred Person, Royal Family and Government, to assure him, that we will exert ourselves in our high Capacity of Hereditary Great Council of the Crown (to which all other Councils are subordinate and accountable) in such a manner as may best tend to the promoting the true Interest of his Majesty, and our Country, in this critical Juncture.

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THEN it was likewise moved to order, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to return him the Thanks of this House, for his most gracious speech from the Throne.

Speech from the Throne. Holdernes.

TO acknowledge his Majesty's great Wisdom and his Adherence to the true Interest of his Kingdoms in resolving to carry on this just and necessary War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual manner, and in not suffering himself to be diverted or deterr'd from those Measures.

T O give his Majesty the strongest Assurances, That if any Power should attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of War against his declared Enemies, such an extraordinary Proceeding would not fail to create a just Indignation in us, and determine us to concur in all proper Measures for vindicating and defending his Dignity and Honour against any Insults, and srustrating any Designs formed against us.

TO affure his Majesty, That this House will zealously stand by and support him in adhering to the Engagements he is under for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of Europe, on the Event of the late Emperor's Death, as

well as in the Profecution of the present War.

TO express our unshaken and unalterable Fidelity and Assection to his Majesty's Person and Government, and our ardent Wishes, that all his Enterprizes for maintaining the Honour of his Crown, and the Rights of his People, may be blessed with Success.

And a Question being stated on each Proposition,

#### After Debate

The previous Question was put, Whether the Question first slated shall be now put,

It was Refolv'd in the Negative.

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Differtient'

1. Because we conceive, that a Motion of this Nature ought not to have been laid aside by the previous Question; but we apprehend it would have been more confistent with the Honour and Dignity of this House to have passed it in the Affirmative, fince it contained the strongest Assurances of our Duty to his Majesty, and of our Zeal to support him with our Lives and Fortunes in the Profecution of this just and necessary War: moreover, it had been univerfally allowed in the Debate, that the ancient Usage of this House was to return immediately a general Address of Thanks only for the Speech from the Throne, and to appoint a future Day for taking the faid Speech into Confideration: By which wise Method of proceeding, this House had an Opportunity of forming their Judgment and offering their Advice to the Crown, upon the several Matters contained in the Speech after due Enquiry and mature Deliberation.

2. Because, tho' the Speech from the Throne is in Parliament justly consider'd as the Act of his Ministers. yet a Motion preconcerted, if not drawn by themselves. echoing back the Particulars of the Speech, is, as we conceive, a modern Expedient to procure a precipitate Approbation of Measures which might not be approved upon better Consideration. It was indeed alledged in the Debate, in Support of this Practice, that it was introduced during the late War, in the Administration of the late Earl of Graulphin; but we should also consider the Reason of it (we heartily wish we had now the same) that the Zeal of the House was then every Year animated by the glorious Successes of the Queen's Arms under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough, and tho' it is always admitted that these hasty Addresses do not preclude the House from future Enquiries or Cenfures; yet shou'd Censures, in Consequence of such Enquiries, become necessary, they would produce an Inconfiftency between the first Address and the subsequent Refolutions, and argue a Levity highly unbecoming the Wisdom and Dignity of this House. 3. Because 3. Because one Part of this Motion, the Congratulation upon his Majesty's safe Return to his Regal Dominions could be liable to no Objection, but seemed at this Time peculiarly reasonable, since it was evident to the whole Kingdom, the Sailing of the Fleet, which had been delay'd so long, was the immediate Effect of his

happy Return.

4 Because we conceive, that our assuring his Majesty that we would exert ourselves in our high Capacity of Hereditary Great Council of the Crown, would have given Encouragement to his Allies, Confidence to his Armies, and Satisfaction to his Subjects, especially in this critical Conjuncture, wherein the Advice of this House is more than ever necessary, fince by the Inaction of this last Year in all Parts (except wherein Admiral Vernon commanded) notwithstanding the vast Fleets and Armies maintained at so immense a Charge, this just and necessary War seems hitherto to have been carried on by the same Spirit and Advice which so long delay'd the entering into it; and we conceive that the strictest Enquiries into such Conduct are the most probable Means of redressing our Grievances at Home, and bringing the War Abroad to a speedy and happy Conclusion.

Buccleugh,	Talbot,	Carlifle,
Stanbope,	Willoughby de Br.	Denbigh,
Hallifax,	Greenwich.	Batburft,
Chefterfield,	Carteret,	Craven,
- Bridgeoater,	Shaftsbury,	Thanet,
Winchelfen & Not.	Clifton,	Gower,
Beaufort,	Haverfoam,	Aylesford.
Litthfield,		

Then it was proposed to insert in the second stated Question, immediately before the last Paragraph, the Words of the first Question, except those in the Parenthesis.

Which being objected to,

The Question was put, Whether those Words shall be inferted.

It was resolved in the Negative.

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### Diffentient'

Because when these Words made Part of the Question first moved, they were allowed by every Lord, who spoke to the Debate, to be proper and unexceptionable, and the following Parenthesis only (to which all other Councils are Subordinate and Accountable) was objected to, as liable to a Misconstruction in another House; we cannot therefore but be surprized, that when this Question, freed from that Shadow of an Objection, (as we conceive) was offered as an Amendment to the Motion for an Address, it should have been rejected; and the more so, since the Negative passed upon it may be construed to imply, What we are perswaded no Lord in this House can intend, (whatever others may wish) a Resolution not to enquire, advise, or censure, even the suspicions, imprudent Councils, or criminal Measures should require it.

Bridgwater,

Gower,

Hallifan, Gc. as before.

## Considerations upon the Embargo on Provision of Victual.

T is to be consider'd, whether the Interest of Contractors for Provision for the Publick, was not the Motive which first started the Notion of the Embargo upon Victual, and whether the same Interest be not now a grand, secret Motive of its Continuance. These Con-

though fecret Motive of its Continuance \*. These Contractors being very sensible, that the Demand abroad, for Irish and English Beef, must greatly enhance the Price, and that there was no way for them to keep it down, but by endeavouring to confine these Commodities to their own Market, had Address to effect their End in part, by obtaining the Embargo in Ireland, which they have good Reason to labour to have continued there, and farther extended. For thus they will become absolute Masters over a great Part of the Land-holders in England, as they have been for some Time over above half the Land holders of Ireland, who are obliged to fell at the Price they please to give. The exported Produce of that Country, in the Cattle Trade, being near 600,000 1. per annum, exclusive of any Commodity derived from Sheep, and the whole Value of the Export of that Kingdom, not exceeding 1,050,000 l. which are Facts extremely certain, and taken from the Books of the Customs there, upon a Parliamentary Inspection.

It

The House may have a very curious and surprising Knowledge of this Transaction, by ordering the proper Officers to lay before them the Contracts made in the Year 1739 and 1740 by the Victualling-Office, together with the Papers and Applications which relate to this Affair, as far as it concerns the Irish Provisions, delivered or made to the said Commissioners for Victualling, the Lords of the Admiralty, and some other Offices.

Which, if fairly obtained, will enable the House to judge, whether a Care and Tenderness to two Contractors have not plainly been the sole and true Cause (whatever popular Pretences are thrown out) of all the severe Measures, with respect to Trade, already ruinously executed upon Ireland, and now pro-

jected for the whole Nation.

It is to be consider'd, whether any great Men were induced to favour this Scheme from any private Advantages which they were to receive from the Contractors, in consideration of it; and it ought to be understood, that this is the fairest Opportunity for the greatest Money Tobb, that may ever offer again to any Man in Power.

It ought to be farther consider'd, when the Bill offered to Parliament for regulating this Affair shall be examin'd, whether the Hopes of extraordinary and partial Powers to be granted to the Crown by it, might not he a principal Reason for infinuating the Necessity of this Measure, especially at this Conjuncture, when a new Par-

liament is to be fhortly called.

It should be observed, what Industry was used from Time to Time in the publick Papers, to prepare the Minds of the People in savour of an Embargo, particularly with respect to the Irish Bees: And whether this does not seem to have proceeded rather from the Spirit of private Interest, than a Zeal for the publick Good; especially as the latter End was ill answer'd, by alarming our Enemies with the Apprehension of an approaching Prohibition, and could tend only to hasten them in making their Provision, before they were prevented

It is to be consider'd, what can be the Reasons or Views of a certain Gentleman, in pressing to do that by Act of Parliament, which by the known Constitution of the Kingdom may be done, and has been done by an

allow'd Prerogative. 12 Rep. pag 33.

It is to be consider'd, why Ireland is to be mention'd by the Bill, since the Prerogative has already had in that Country a full Effect without a Bill; and whether the doing this by an English Law, being necessary, will not create Discontents there, which had better be avoided, especially at this Conjuncture.

It is to be confidered, why Ireland, which has the same Magna Charta and Common Law with England, should be subjected to an Embargo by Prerogative, if that Embargo was illegal; and if it was not illegal, why England

was not subject to it at the same Time.

It is to be consider'd, why that Embargo upon Ireland was laid upon the whole Trade, to the immense Damage of that Country, notwithstanding the Relaxation

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of it in some Instances: And whether the doing it in that Way, did not evidently tend to create servile Applications, great Loss of Time and Opportunities, great Dependence upon Men in Power, and possibly great Corruption. And whether it is not an Absurdity to suppose the Prerogative sufficient to exercise a general Embargo upon the whole Trade, and insufficient to do it upon a few Branches only.

It is to be consider'd, that the Embargo in Ireland was laid at a Conjuncture above all others fatal; the Rents of that Country being chiefly made during the Slaughter Season, which is in the Months of October, November.

and December.

It is to be consider'd, why the Embargo was laid after the French and Spanish Fleets were sail'd; and if neces-

fary at all, why not before.

It is to be consider'd, whether it can be suppos'd that the provident Administration of France and Spain would have hazarded the Success of so great a Design, and the Loss of so great an Armament, to an Event which they knew to be so much in our Power, as the Embargo upon Irish Bees. Whether therefore it could be reasonably suppos'd, that this Measure, which has been talk'd up as so Important, could have taken any strong Effect.

It is to be consider'd, whether any Man can with any Appearance of Reason suggest, that this Embargo could have had any better Effect than to occasion some Distress among the French and Spanish Forces, to oblige them to be contented with a more spare and less agreeable Diet, or to be at some greater Expence to procure Provision; and whether any Man can be so sanguine to believe, that we shall render them unfit for Action and Service by this Means.

It is to be consider'd, whether, if they are still sit for Action and Service, the Degree of Distress we shall create to them will be of any Advantage to justify so extraordinary a Measure; and whether, when it is rightly understood by the Publick, they can think it sufficient to balance the extravagant Loss it will occasion to Ireland and to our own Colonies.

It is to be consider'd, what this Loss will be, whether it will not occasion a total Stagnation of Trade in some

of our Colonies: Whether Provisions exported from Ireland are not annually worth 600,000 l. and whether it be possible that any Remedy can be apply'd to the Distress of that Nation, occasioned by this Embargo, when half the Beef they export is of so bad a kind, that no People can consume it but the French; and confequently that if England were ever so willing to relieve Ireland, she cannot buy that Product.

It is to be consider'd, how unequally this Blow must fall, and that this Loss will lie in a Manner wholly upon one fourth Part of Ireland, above three fourths of the exported Beef, &c. arising from the Province of

Munster only.

It is to be consider'd, what a deplorable Ruin must attend the fourth Part of any Country, by a certain annual Loss of at least 300,000 l. where the Rents of that

whole Country amount but to 1,700,000 l.

It is to be considered, whose Loss this in the End will be; and whether it will not be the Loss of England: Since it is demonstrable that England gets all the Balance of the Trade of Ireland, as appears from hence, that the current Species of Ireland is certainly not augmented for twenty Years past, tho the Balance of Trade is known to be more than 400,000 l. per Ann. in her Favour.

It is to be consider'd, whether the Growth of Wool, and the woollen Manufactures of Ireland, if they are so prejudicial to the woollen Trade of England, as some would popularly suggest, will not be enlarged to the Prejudice of England, by driving the Irish out of a Trade, which now employs so great a Portion of their Land.

It is to be consider'd, what was the Practice of this Nation in all our former Wars, and upon what Motives it was, that in the Reign of Charles II. in 1667, when England was at War with Holland, France, and Denmark, at a Period when the Prejudices against Ireland first had Rise, and were most violent; it was resolved by the Council of England, that the Irish should export their Beef and Provisions to the Enemy, in Pursuance of which Resolution a Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom was then issued to that Purpose.

It is to be considered likewise, upon what Motives, in the Wars of King William and Queen Anne with France, the same Indulgence was shewn to Ireland, and their Exportation privately encouraged by the Government of England, notwithstanding any general Embargoes laid by Act of Parliament.

It is to be consider'd, whether the Datch, the wisest Nation in the World with Respect to Commerce, ever thought it advisable to refuse to supply their Enemies

with any Commodity whatfoever.

It is to be consider'd, now the Scarcity of Grass and Hay is so excessive, what can be done with our Cattle if they are not exported; and whether it be better that they should perish at home, than be sold to our Enemies.

It is to be consider'd, whether Money be not the Sinew of War; and whether to deny ourself the Profit of a very advantageous Trade, be a natural Way to prove successful against our Enemies.

It is to be confider'd, whether one of the Calamities of War is not the Interruption of our Commerce.

Whether to render this greater than it must necessarily be, can deserve the Encomiums which a certain Perfon and his Adherents bestow upon this Measure.

Whether one of the most valuable Circumstances of Admiral Vernon's glorious Demosishing of Porto-Bello has not been thought, by all knowing Men, to be the opening of that Coast to our Merchants, and the Means thereby given to supply the Spanish America with Commodities of this Country.

Whether there is any Maxim so solid, and so incapable of being contraverted with Respect to Trade, as that it

ought never to be restrained.

Whether the eternal Consequence of Restriction in Commerce has not been the Diversion of it into a new Channel.

Whether the Restraint upon the Exportation of Iron, laid by Sweden some Years ago, has been recovered by Sweden, and whether Spain was not an immense Gainer

by it.

Whether the Restraint upon the Irish Trade in Cattle, imposed by England, did not throw the Beef Trade into Ireland, and give it to that very Country, which was imprudently designed to be excluded from it.

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Whether the Prohibition of the Irifo to carry on the woollen Manufacture, did not throw the woollen Trade as well out of their Hands as ours, and establish the same in all Parts of Europe.

Whether any Folly be more exploded, if fatal and general Experience can explode a Folly, than the Suppofition, that any Nation can exclude the rest of the World

from any Branch of Commerce.

Whether it can be supposed that Providence has been so severe upon any Country, as to put it in the Power of another to starve her Inhabitants.

It is to be confidered, whether it is possible to conceive, that any Nation abounding in Wealth, can fail to be sup-

plied with Necessaries for Money.

It is to be confidered, whether Denmark, Justand, Holflein, and other Places in the Baltick, which now export great Quantities of live Cattle, may not falt their Beef, and supply France and Spain with it; and whether they will not keep that Trade when they have once experienc'd the Advantage of it.

It is to be considered, whether Hungary, Flanders, and France killi, may not, upon Encouragement, supply a

Part.

It is to be considered, whether the Forests of France and Germany may not supply great Quantities of Pork; and whether that Provision will not answer the End of Beef.

It is to be confidered, whether Holland may not supply vast Quantities, particularly of Pork, from Germany, by means of the navigable Rivers which flow from thence

thro' that Country.

It is to be confidered what Effed the Lucre of this Branch of Trade may have upon the Councils of those Nations which may gain it from us: And whether France may not acquire a dangerous Influence over some of our best Allies by that Event.

It is to be confidered, may it is to be known, That there is a Method of falting and curing Cattle in the very hottest Latitudes, and under the Line itself. tho' the Secret is as yet in few Hands; and whether Necessity and Money will not open that Secret to France and Spain.

It is to be considered, whether in all such Cases, many Places for Supply and Means of it may not be found,

which no present Foresight can suggest.

Whether a very hard Season, and a Dearth of Grain abtoad, is not by all thinking Men apprehended as a fatal Incident to England, tho' she is not herself a present Sufferer by it, and may be an immediate Gainer by the Exportation of greater Quantities of Corn; since the Alarm it gives to foreign Nations, tends to put them upon Measures for enlarging their Tillage, and finding Means to supply themselves at Home with Grain, which France has lately done, by sounding a Company, and giving great Advantages and Premiums, for raising Rice in that Country.

Whether therefore it may be thought adviseable to urge this Distress in any Kind; and whether it is not adding

an Incentive to their Endeavours in this Way.

Whether from this just Consideration, all Embargoes, or other Difficulties upon Exportation, are not in the

Nature of the Thing injurious and abfurd.

Whether it is beneath a Man of Sense, upon better Consideration, to reject Opinions, however warmly he may have espoused them, before the State of the Question had been throughly canvassed.

Whether therefore there may not be great Hope, that

the Act relating to the Embargo will never pass.

And if it should pass, r. That it may relate to Corn only, a Restraint upon which seems to be justified for the present by no other Reason but the great Want of it at Home, which our late ill Seasons threaten.

2. That it should not extend either to Ireland, or the Plantations, who will be infallibly distress'd beyond Ex-

ample, and almost to utter Ruin by it.

3. That if it must pass, it should be general as to every distinct Species, to avoid Partiality, and Increase of Mi-

nisterial Power.

4. That it should be in the Power of the Crown to relieve it in any one Branch of Exportation, provided the Relief or the Restraint be general as to the particular Branch; because it may be necessary to prevent the Exportation of Corn, and at the same Time fatal to hinder that of other Provisions.

5. That Care be taken to allow the Export of Conto Ireland, either from the Plantations or England; without which Ireland, who does not grow Corn enough for her Home Confumption, and is now in great Distress from the Loss of Potatoes by the Frost, may greatly suffer by Famine, especially if this Winter should be attended

with much severe Weather.

Upon the Whole, it is to be hoped that Men in Power, if they should be convinced by these Considerations, that they have not deserved the Applause which has been rashly given to this Measure, and that it is really destructive and dangerous, will be generous enough to resign their Pretensions to this Glory, rather than sacrifice the Trade and Interest of these Dominions, by maintaining their first Opinion.

P. S.

It is actually now known, that the French have contracted already for an annual Supply of 6000 Tons, or 60000 Barrels of Beef from Jutland, at the Rate of 200 wt. per Barrel, which is within 20000 Barrels of the greatest Quantity ever taken by them from Ireland in Times of Peace. So that in all Probability an irrecoverable Blow is already given to that Branch of Trade; and they have actually contracted with Holland for a farther Quantity.

Certain Advices are received, that the French Fleets are actually in America; which may serve sufficiently to evince, that some Persons have boasted too much of their Sagacity in imposing the Embargo: The great, and indeed only plausible Pretence for it, being to prevent their Navigation thither at this critical Conjuncture, which it was considently affirmed it

would effect.

This was foretold at a Time when the Prejudices in favour of the Embargo were too strong to admit Credit to that Suggestion. It is to be wished, that the farther Prophecy contained in this Paper may not likewise be most fatally accomplished.

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